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Rt. Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX,
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T O W H I C H I S A D D E D
An Authentic Copy of the RESOLUTIONS,
as ORIGINALLY proposed and now ALTERED
by Mr. CHANCELLOR PITT.

D U B L I N :

Printed for Messrs. WILSON, WHITE, BYRNE, and
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MDCCLXXXV.

1785

THE
STEPHEN

OF THE

MR. HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS



IRISH

ON THURSDAY 12 1782

TO WHICH IS ADDED

An Authentic Copy of the RESOLUTIONS

as originally proposed and now altered

by Sir CHARLES FOX 1782.

D. B. L. N.

Printed by Messrs. W. & A. G. Smith, Stationers, Strand.

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T H E
S P E E C H, &c.

House of Commons,

Die Jovis 12^o. Maii, 1783.

THE House went into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of Irish affairs; and having concluded the hearing of evidence against the eleven resolutions, submitted to them as the basis for the system of commercial intercourse between the two countries.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt rose, and proposed several alterations and additions to the resolutions. After having stated the whole of them as the system, which he offered for the final adjustment between the two kingdoms, he concluded with moving the first proposition.

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Lord

Lord North said, that the important alterations proposed by the right honourable Gentleman, demanded in fairness, that the committee should have time for enquiry and deliberation. He therefore proposed that Mr. Gilbert should leave the chair of the Committee, and report progress, by which the propositions as amended, might be printed for the use of the members, that they might have an opportunity of deliberating on their merits before they came to decide. He concluded with moving, " That Mr. Gilbert do now leave the chair."

The question being put,

The *right honourable* CHARLES JAMES FOX rose and addressed himself to the chair.

Mr. Gilbert,

Though I now rise to submit my sentiments on the present important subject, yet I beg it may be understood by the committee, that I shall cheerfully give way to any gentleman on the other side, who may be authorized to declare, it is not meant to press us to a vote this night. I do not conceive it possible indeed, that any objection can be made to the motion of my noble friend. The vast variety of matter perfectly new, as well as the numerous alterations of that which we had previously before us, demanding the most minute and accurate discussion; surely the right honourable Gentleman will not force the committee, at an hour so unreasonable, to come to a decision upon so difficult and so perplexed a subject.—I have paused, Sir, to give an opportunity for discovering, if such be the intention of gentlemen: but I now find
from

from their continued silence, it is evident they are determined, at all events, to precipitate the committee to this extraordinary and unparalleled decision.—I must therefore intreat a more than usual indulgence from the committee, if, compelled as I find myself to enter into this important discussion, I shall, even at so late an hour, intrude for a considerable length of time on their patience. The committee will recollect, that in addition to the *eleven* original propositions, no less than *sixteen* new ones are now for the first time submitted to Parliament; so that at one o'clock in the morning, I have to enter into the discussion of no less than *twenty-seven* of the most important and complex propositions that ever were the subject of parliamentary debate. Nor is this the whole of the difficulty: the sixteen supplemental propositions are not confined to verbal explanations, or to mere literal amendments of the former; on the contrary, they directly change the whole tenour, and absolutely subvert the main principle of the original system, upon which the right honourable Gentleman declared it to be his fixed intention to proceed: so that in truth they are altogether as unexpected, as they obviously are new and contradictory. Surely therefore, under circumstances so very novel and embarrassing, I may with less presumption intreat the Committee to forgive that unavoidable intrusion on their time, which must be the consequence of compelling us to come to a vote on so interesting and so complicated a subject, before it is scarcely possible for Gentlemen to form even any general ideas on the whole of the subject, as it is now modelled.

But first with respect to this extraordinary system, most undoubtedly the claim of merit in being the author of it, can admit of no question.

My noble friend has waved all possible pretensions to it, but not, I am sure, more chearfully than I concur with him in declaring it to be the sole and entire possession of the right honourable Gentleman who has officially produced it. With him let the whole credit of it reside, undisputed and unenvied—He indeed who contends with him for its honours, must be instigated by unjustifiable motives. For surely never did there appear a work more completely, more indivisibly the sole and genuine composition of its author, than the present system evidently demonstrates itself to be exclusively the work of the right honourable Gentleman. No necessity can be alledged to have given rise to it, for it flows from the mere will of the proposer. No urgent—no pressing calamity bore a share in its introduction. It is the offspring of peace and domestic tranquillity. Surely therefore, it would be false and injurious to alledge, that the people of Ireland had forced the British Minister into a tame surrender of the manufactures and commerce of our country. The fact is directly the reverse. The British Minister has preferred this surrender from his own mere motion, his own sound will, and his own unbiaſſed judgement. Unquestionably therefore, he, and he only, is clearly intitled to reap and to enjoy all the merits and all the honours of a system so completely and so perfectly his own.

Perhaps indeed, from the examples which the right honourable Gentleman has so frequently afforded us of a wonderful perseverance in the defence of his own opinions, and at the same time as complete an adoption of the amendments which we suggest, and he himself disapproves, we ought not to be very much astonished at any new and sudden appearance that
his

his present system may have assumed; but I confess however, it was with considerable astonishment that I heard the right honourable Gentleman state his *new propositions*. For these, Sir, are at once, directly, totally, and vitally in contradiction to the whole of that system on which he set out, and from which, if we had *trusted merely to his own solemn declarations*, we must have believed it impossible that he could deviate in the minutest degree—In saying this the Committee must be sensible that I speak merely from the impression which the Resolutions have made on my mind as they were cursorily read over and explained by the right honourable Gentleman. I have not had time, and the Committee are not to be permitted to have time, to read and weigh these propositions before they determine upon their merits—But such is the impression, which on the first blush they have made upon my mind.

I have all along understood, that the basis of the right honourable Gentleman's original system, was, *reciprocity in correspondent duties*, and *reciprocity in the prohibition of the export of raw materials*. Now these principles, in my mind, the right honourable Gentleman has completely abandoned in his new propositions—for particularly in the article of *beer*, an exception is made to the reciprocity in correspondent duties, and, in the seventh resolution a change is made with respect to prohibitions. The right honourable Gentleman has, therefore, *retracted* and *recanted* his original principles; he has abandoned the ground on which he set out; and on which he so frequently pledged himself that the whole of his propositions should *stand or fall*. He has abandoned the reciprocity in correspondent duties; he has abandoned the reciprocal prohibition of raw materials. In these instances, which if they are

are said to be trifling in themselves, are not trifles when considered as *departures* from *principle*; he has abandoned his ground, and by doing this, he opens a *new system*, and comes forward with a set of propositions, so far forth *diametrically opposite* to, and *fundamentally different* from, that system which he himself has most repeatedly assured us, could not possibly admit of the slightest change, and was, indeed, to be wholly *inviolable*.

The right honourable Gentleman reprobates the charge which has been imputed to him, of *rashness* in the *original propositions*. Was there ever a charge made with more truth, or demonstrated with more clearness? Has not the right honourable Gentleman's conduct on this day given the most unequivocal testimony to the *original rashness* of his system? What can be a more decisive proof of *original rashness*, than *subsequent retraction*? The right honourable Gentleman brings forward a set of resolutions, as the *basis* of a *system* for the intercourse between the two countries—He pledges the government of this kingdom for the *literal* establishment of his system—He proudly resists enquiry and scorns deliberation—but when circumstances arise which he has not ability to overcome, and time, in spite of his opposition, is procured for enquiry and discussion, he is constrained to acknowledge the errors of his *first opinions*, and he comes forward with a set of propositions *directly* the *reverse* of the former—If this does not exhibit the rashness of the right honourable Gentleman in colours more warm and durable than any with which we on this side the House, were able to characterize his conduct, I submit to the Committee and the public. The *rashness* of the right honourable Gentleman, is proved by the right honourable Gentleman himself; and it is singularly striking—that by the whole of his

his behaviour—the *rashness* of *one day* is to be proved by the *rashness* of *another*. He now brings forward to the Committee a set of Propositions directly contradictory to those on which he first proceeded; and having thus himself demonstrated the rashness of his own conduct in the first instance, he becomes enamoured of this boasted weakness, and yet most liberally determines that we also shall be admitted to a full participation of it, by a rash, premature adoption of these his latest notions; which however, may as suddenly and as consistently be abandoned as the former.—So hostile is he to deliberation, such an avowed enemy to every thing that looks like inquiry and reflection, that even on this day, when he is suffering the shame of rashness, he calls upon us to be rash. Though his Propositions have been but once cursorily read over, and in that reading embellished and set off with all the lustre of his eloquence,—though they are perfectly new,—and although he has not submitted them to the Committee till *after midnight*,—he demands and compels us to come to a vote on them. The *decency* of this conduct I will not insist upon,—but thus driven, thus forced to a division, I must, however unwilling to give a hasty negative, vote directly against his Propositions,—as conceiving them to be at the best *unnecessary*—most probably as *pernicious*—but undoubtedly so productive of an entire change and revolution in our commercial system, as to involve a train of consequences, against which the wisest and best characters of this country might despair of providing any adequate security.

But, Sir, I must *congratulate* the committee—I must *congratulate* my Country on the happy *escape* which we have made from the system proposed by the right honourable Gentleman but two months since.

since. That system, the *ruin* of which has been this day so ably demonstrated, was then *within four and twenty hours* of being carried through this House, to which, when we look back on all the circumstances of the case, we must indeed rejoice in our fortunate escape. The first Propositions, when they were originally opened in this House, were pronounced to be so *pure and beneficial*—so *clearly and demonstrably perfect*, that not a moment was to be wasted in the vain discussion of their merits. The right honourable Gentleman therefore inveighed against the strange uncandid opposition which was made to those his first Propositions.—He attributed the opinions of this side of the House to mere faction and disappointment,—he called our solemn appeals to the legislature and to the nation, illiberal artifices to excite unnecessary clamour,—he gave a haughty defiance to the manufacturers and merchants, to exhibit any reasonable argument against a system so replete with every beneficial consequence to themselves; and he triumphed in the circumstance, that for some days not a single petition was brought to the House from any part of the country against those propositions;—afterwards indeed, he was forced to abate from this triumph, he found no want of petitions, nor of argument, but his language was still lofty and his mind implacable.—His system was so superior to the petulance and faction of those who opposed it, that he declared his resolution of carrying it into a law, even to the *letter* of the specific resolutions. Convinced, however, as we always were, that these Resolutions were fraught with injury and ruin to the manufactures and commerce of this country, we warned—we conjured the House to deliberate—to call for information—to examine those, who, from their situations, were the most

most likely to have intelligence.—We called for the Commissioners of Customs, and the Commissioners of Excise—that the House might learn from them, whether from the operation of these Resolutions the revenues of the country were not instantly exposed to insurmountable dangers. The right honourable Gentleman reprobated the proceeding—He asserted, that we called for these Commissioners merely to gain time—that our purpose was insidious delay, in order to inflame the public, and stir up factious clamours. But what has been the issue of all this? Will the right honourable Gentleman now dare to attribute our conduct to those unworthy motives? The commissioners, whose opinions on the subject he considered of so little avail, have declared by their report, that material and alarming injury would unavoidably arise from these Resolutions, fraught as they conceive them to be with innumerable dangers. But still more strongly has the right honourable Gentleman himself, on this day, described, in his own beautiful language, the variety of ruinous consequences that must have attended his original system. He himself has enumerated to the Committee the long train of evils we have escaped, by opposing his Propositions—he himself has emphatically described the destruction we should have incurred by adopting his own exploded system. Let the Committee recollect the detail of fatal consequences thus authoritatively admitted.

First, it has been now admitted, that if the original Resolutions had passed, *We should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East-India trade.* It has been admitted, that we could no longer have renewed the exclusive charter of the Company; but the sister kingdom, having once an equal power with ourselves to trade to Asia, we must

wholly have depended on the will of Ireland for a renewal of the charter, by which the monopoly could alone have been maintained.

If these Resolutions had passed into a law, it has equally been admitted, *We must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous Liquors*; no distinction having been made between our own and foreign liquors, nor any provision thought of to prevent their admission into this country.

If these Resolutions had passed into a law, *We should equally have sacrificed the whole of the Navigation Laws of this country*. These laws, the great source of our commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime strength, would at once have been delivered up in trust to Ireland, leaving us for ever after totally dependent on her policy, and on her bounty, for the future guardianship of our dearest interests.

If these Resolutions had passed into a law, *we should have opened the door to a more extensive contraband trade than ever yet was known to exist in this country*; for not a shadow of protection was provided against every species of smuggling—not even the means which we think it necessary to use in our own traffic from port to port—that of requiring bonds, cockets, and other instruments, on goods sent coastways.

If these Resolutions had been carried into a law, *we should have endangered the loss of the colonial market to the manufactures of Great Britain*; for no care was taken to prevent Ireland from giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks, on goods exported to the colonies: so that it was left in their power to give so decisive an advantage to their own manufactures, as must have ascertained to them the market, or, which would have been
equally

equally ruinous, have forced us to enter into a warfare of bounties, to the extinction of our revenues.

If these Resolutions had been carried into a law, as *Extensive dangers must have equally been incurred by our Colonies*; for not a single provision was stipulated for laying permanent high duties, instead of annual high duties, on the produce of foreign colonies imported into Ireland: so that, at any future time, Ireland might have taken off the annual high duties, and given admission to the produce of foreign colonies, on terms, which must completely have ruined our West-India Islands—I need not state to the Committee a fact so universally known, as that the produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign islands.—But we have nevertheless preferred the home market, on account of the natural interest which we have in them; and undoubtedly we must continue to do so.—Ireland has no such obligation.—On the contrary, her interest would as forcibly lead her to the Foreign Colonies.—If these Resolutions therefore had passed into a law, we should irretrievably have been bound to our part of the bargain, whereas Ireland would by no means have been confined to hers. If those Resolutions had passed into a law, by the monstrous incongruity of the fifth, *it would have been in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our consumption*.—They had only to lay an internal duty in Ireland, on the articles of our consumption, equal to the internal duty that might exist on such articles in this Country, and it must have followed, that they of course would have drawn the *revenue* from the country that was to consume the goods.—This astonishing absurdity is done away by the removal of the latter part of the fifth Resolution.—

Thus also, if these Resolutions had passed into a law, the leather trade must as certainly have been ruined; for though *We* were bound in all future time to send our oak-bark to Ireland *duty free*, Ireland was not bound to prohibit the exportation of raw hides to Great Britain, without which the trade could not subsist.

These are some few of the evils, which confessedly would have taken place, if the original resolutions, which the right honourable Gentleman proposed but two months ago, had unfortunately passed into a law. All these menaces, these fatal consequences of his own rash system, the right honourable Gentleman has on this day himself acknowledged, at the same moment that he introduces, for the first time, a new set of complicated Propositions, in remedy of the detected mischiefs of the former.—In doing this, he has at once compleatly changed the ground on which he first set out; for having originally declared, that the very spirit and soul of his system was to square and finally determine the relative situation of the two countries, he then maintained that this salutary, this grand, primary object, could only be accomplished by a complete and perfect Reciprocity; yet that essential, that vital principle, he has now totally and directly abandoned, as well in the remarkable change, which he has introduced in the seventh resolution, as in the article of Beer, the export of which is of infinite consequence. Reciprocity therefore, which was the *vital principle*, the *spirit*, the *quintessence* of his system, is now completely *abandoned*.

That these alterations are for the better, I most cheerfully admit.—Undoubtedly, they tend to make the present system far more palatable to Englishmen.—Why then, it may be asked, do I now state them?—Clearly for this reason: to
manifest

manifest to the House the important benefits of Deliberation.—I mention them, to shew, that the alarm given by Gentlemen of this side of the House, was a most *fortunate alarm* for this country.—By that fortunate alarm, the manufacturing communities in every corner of the kingdom have been apprized of their danger; they have had time to come forward; they have had time to give those lights to the Committee, which have been the happy means of producing the alterations of this day. I mention them to shew what must have been the consequences to the Empire, if the Committee had implicitly fallen into the system, which the *rashness* of the Right Honourable Gentleman,—I will not say his *ignorance*,—but which, to give it an easier term,—his *extraordinary confidence in his own abilities*, induced him so peremptorily and so authoritatively to propose.

There is also another, and even more powerful reason for my enlarging on these important alterations. It is, Sir, to convince the Committee, that there is still a powerful appeal to our Equity, our Benevolence, and even our Common Sense, for affording the Merchants and Manufacturers of this country a much longer period of deliberation, and surely as strong a claim on the justice of the Minister, to suspend the vote of the Committee on a question of such infinite magnitude to all our just and dearest interests. The Committee will be taught, by a due estimation of the benefits already acquired from salutary delays, that most important advantages are ever to be derived from fair inquiry and impartial discussion. If in two months such serious and consequential errors have been discovered, what may we not expect from longer time and more careful investigation? If in two months the Right Honourable Gentleman has *gleaned* so much

much from this side of the House, and from Gentlemen, whose ideas he certainly is not much disposed *avowedly* and *ingenuously* to adopt, however willing he may be to benefit in secret from them; what may we not expect, when his *bright talents* have had more time to work on the suggestions with which we have furnished him? That he has largely profited from this side of the House, the Committee will readily perceive; neither will they, I believe, consider it extremely presumptuous, if I arrogate some degree of honour to myself, in having contributed a little to the amendments of this day. From my Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Eden) the Minister has certainly collected many more of his new opinions. Surely, therefore, from the excellent use, which the Right Honourable Gentleman has already made of our discoveries and suggestions, it will more and more be the wish of all impartial men, that he should have time to mature the many other matters, which he has not yet so far honoured us as entirely to adopt. For what must be the *fruits* of those ideas, how ample, how rich must be the harvest they produce, when his protecting hand shall raise them from obscurity to a richer soil; when he himself shall “transplant them to his own fair garden, where “the Sun always shines.” Nothing surely can be more beneficial than to wait for their *mature production*.—I speak for myself, and I am sure I may speak also for my Right Honourable Friend, and the other gentlemen round me, that we shall be happy to trust our progeny to his care. If he is a *plagiary*, he is a *plagiary* uncommonly endowed; for he decorates that which he steals in apparel so gay and luxuriant,—he enriches whatever he takes with such additions of flowers and embroidery, that though, as their legitimate parents, we recognize
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our own offspring, we view them with no small degree of wonder in their strange and sumptuous attire. On this day, indeed, we may be proud to contemplate the predominating efficacy of our own suggestions: and on this day alone has the Right Honourable Gentleman, for the very first time, condescended to depart from the usual stateliness and overbearing sense of his own superiority. Upon this day, with new and unaccustomed affability, he neither reprobates nor reviles the opinions to which he has deigned to accede. It is to us a strange and unexpected triumph, not indeed to have our ideas *received* by the Right Honourable Gentleman, (in that acceptance he is courtesy itself) but to hear them, even in the moment they are admitted, unstigmatised by the receiver, nor as usual traduced in words, while they are approved in fact, and vilified at the very moment of their adoption.

The Right Honourable Gentleman, whom my noble friend (Lord North) most truly painted, when he asserted, that "he had a mind which found gratification in invective," * has this day alluded to a letter, written by the noble Lord, as a dispatch from Ireland, during the administration of which I had the honour to make a part, and he has infi-

* Lord North said, in the course of his speech, "There are some men, Mr. Gilbert, who seem to be organized for slander,—There are some men who, by the peculiar temperament of their nature, find gratification in invective, and so eager are they for the enjoyment of their lust, that they go about to seek for blemishes, in order to expose them; and in the pursuit of their game, they will sometimes pretend to find them where they are not. Such men, if they propose any measure, are infinitely more desirous to make it stand upon the *faults of others*, than on *its own merits*—And such a man I take the Right Honourable Gentleman to be."

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nuated, that the letter manifested an intention in that administration to have gone the lengths of the present system, "if they had had energy sufficient for so great an adventure." I did not expect, that *even from him* such a construction would have been put upon that dispatch. From his colleagues in *office*, I am confident of meeting with more candour. But the letter has been read. I submit to the Committee the terms of that letter, and call upon them to say, if the English language could furnish expressions more decisive of the contrary opinion, than those in which we declared to the then Lord Lieutenant, that we could not encourage him to make a promise to Ireland, which, if fulfilled, would be destructive to Britain. In that opinion we were then unanimous—and to that opinion we firmly adhere.—But are these the *arts* by which the noble Lord and I are to be degraded in the eyes of Britain? Let the minister persist in these unworthy insinuations. He shall not deter us from what we know to be our duty. He shall not overcome that deliberate firmness, which after healing the calamities of Ireland, and happily establishing both her commercial and constitutional liberty, had sufficient spirit, sufficient justice to withhold what it were ruin to relinquish, and what indeed was as little expected or sought by Ireland, as it was safe or just for an Administration here to bestow. That letter, which was written by the Noble Lord in his official capacity, was of too much consequence to be written under the sanction of any individual department. Every one of his Majesty's confidential servants was privy to the measure, nor was any dispatch ever made up on a more decided and unanimous opinion. Let the right honourable Gentleman refer to some of his present colleagues for information on the point. "As to
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“ the want of energy—the temporizing spirit—
 “ the half measures—and the expedients of getting
 “ over a session by a Post Office or an Admiralty
 “ Court ;”—all these are insinuations which my
 noble friend has completely refuted. Neither the
 Post Office nor the Admiralty Court were conced-
 ed as *expedients* to get over a session. They were
 neither given nor accepted as boons. They were
 the natural consequences of the previous change
 of system. They flowed naturally from the new
 situation in which Ireland stood, by the independ-
 ence of her legislature. What occasion had we
 for expedients to get over a session? The Lord
 Lieutenant of that day enjoyed as high a degree
 of confidence, and deserved it as well, as any no-
 bleman that ever filled the station. *We* were
 guilty of no *violences*, and there existed no *cla-*
mour.

I cannot help stopping here for a moment to
 make a remark on a curious distinction to which
 the right honourable Gentleman appears most re-
 markably attached—a distinction which betrays a
 feeling that I cannot well describe—a sort of *self-*
complacency—a kind of *over-pleasure* with his own
 situation. In speaking of the Noble Lord in the
 Blue Ribband at different periods, he is ever soli-
 citous of distinguishing between the *First Lord of*
the Treasury and the mere *Secretary of State*. In the
 one character he ascribes to him all the dignity of
sovereign rank, of *superintendency*, and of *sole au-*
thority—In the other, he considers him as rather
 acting *under* or *with* a ministry, than *as* a Minister
 possessed either of power or responsibility. He says
 of him at one time, “ When the Noble Lord was
 “ the *Minister of the Country*.” At another,
 “ When the Noble Lord held a *subordinate* situa-
 “ tion in the Cabinet.”—By these distinctions, the

right honourable Gentleman takes a juvenile pleasure in glancing at his own elevation. He considers the personage who fills the united offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury, as a character so lofty and exalted, so super-eminent in his station, that he must on no account be confounded with inferior persons. In like manner when he talks of Coalitions, and reprobates them, he is moved by the same feeling. His charge against me and others, is for coalescing with *the Minister*—the great *superintending Minister* of the American war! His own Coalitions he can readily defend by the very same distinction; “I own, he says, I have certainly coalesced with
 “ *some* of the ministers, who were concerned in
 “ the patronage and conduct of the American war
 “ —they, however, were inferior characters—
 “ *Lords, Chancellors of England*, and such like persons, of *no account*—but never have I been so
 “ infamous and abandoned, as to form a coalition
 “ with the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and the
 “ *First Lord of the Treasury*—the great *superintending Minister* of the *Crown*, who was the *soul* of
 “ the system.”—I do not, Sir, enlarge upon this *feeling* of the right honourable Gentleman, as a charge against him—It is a *feeling*, in the enjoyment of which, I am by no means inclined to disturb him: a feeling, in the indulgence of which, I know indeed of no person that has any interest to disturb him, unless indeed there may be some of his immediate colleagues, who may think it would be somewhat more decent in him to gratify his passion or his pride in a mode less publicly, offensive both to their spirit and their dignity.

But to return to the Propositions on the table, I must now reheat the observation that I made in the outset of this business, namely, that there was a
 gross

gross and fundamental error in *originating* these Propositions in the Irish Parliament. Independant of the insult to the Parliament of this country, in not submitting, for their consideration, a great and extensive innovation in the whole system of our commerce, till *after* it had been *determined* upon in Ireland; surely the experience of this day sufficiently demonstrates the *impolicy* of so strange a measure—For is it not evident, that, after the Parliament and people of Ireland have been suffered to cherish the belief, that the Resolutions which the ministers of that kingdom assured them, would be religiously adhered to as the basis of the new system—the Ministers of England come forward, and change the *spirit, principle* and *tendency* of these Resolutions? Is it to be imagined, that, after the *solemn pledge*, which the people of Ireland have received from their ministers, and which undoubtedly was held out to their Parliament, as a sufficient ground for an immediate extension of their revenue; is it to be imagined, I say, that, by any private tampering with the individual leaders of a party, the whole body of that nation will as rapidly acquiesce in the supplemental Resolutions now brought forward, as they at first did in the original Propositions; and when too the latter are directly framed, to weaken and diminish the effect of the former, which they who proposed them in Ireland, had peremptorily insisted should never undergo the slightest or most minute infringement? Nothing could be more absurd than the state of this proceeding. First, the original Propositions were made in Ireland—Now the amendments are made in England. The Irish thus exposed what alone would content them, and they were offered it without knowing whether it was what England would grant—Now England is called upon to say what

she will give, without knowing whether it is what Ireland would take. Thus a double inconveniency and dilemma arises from the strange and incoherent proceeding. Nor was this the only impolicy in the mode of conducting this extraordinary measure.

His Majesty's Ministers erected a *Board of Trade* under the name of a *Committee* of the Privy Council, which certainly with proper regulations, I should consider as a wise and wholesome institution; but this Board was appointed not to prepare materials for the system with Ireland; not to supply Government with information upon which they might deliberately proceed, to the adjustment of the intercourse between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, this Board was appointed to inquire rather into the propriety of what Ministers were actually doing, than of what they ought to do. For at the precise time when Mr. Secretary Orde first agitated the business in the Irish House of Commons, this Committee of Privy Council were employed in the examination of evidence, and the discussion of points, on which the merits of the proposed arrangement were ultimately to be estimated. Never surely was a Board of Privy Council so perverted, so *degraded* as this! not appointed to *investigate* and examine all the necessary evidence as a preliminary to an important measure—not constituted to deliberate on the various effects and consequences of a great national charge, the outline of which was merely in idea, unsettled, and unadopted by the Minister; but in truth to provide a posthumous defence for a plan already fixed, and to fabricate a vindication for mischiefs, too far advanced to admit of qualification or amendment. With such views, and for such purposes, was this Board of Privy Council at first convened.—A right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) whose feelings,

ings, on being studiously excluded from all the ministerial departments of State, it was found not wholly unexpedient to console and soothe, by some temporary delegation of insignificant eminence, was prudently appointed to the presidency of this mock Committee. No higher mark of confidence was then bestowed on the *now avowed* associate of the great superintendant Minister—On the report however of such a Board thus constituted, and thus directed, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer call upon this House, to depend with unreserved confidence for the complete justification of his plan—In other words, we were to trust the most important rights of British Commerce to the opinion of a Board of the King's Privy Counsellors, appointed by the King's Ministers themselves, to enquire whether the measure that they had adopted was wise or the contrary—Can the Committee imagine any thing more trifling, more frivolous, more vain and absurd, than so partial an appeal? Do we not all know that when his Majesty's Ministers are committed on any one point, the servants whom they employ, must be careful not to deliver an opinion hostile to that measure? The Board of Council are selected by the Ministers not as deliberate judges of his conduct; it were the extreme of folly to consider them in such a light—on the contrary, it was their object to afford every possible support to measures which they were called upon directly to countenance. This always was, and ever must be the case; and so indeed the Committee of Privy Council, in the present instance, seem entirely to have considered it. At first, indeed, before the Minister had thought it safe to communicate his plan to the right honourable President of this Board, some opinions, far from favourable to the plan, did appear upon their Minutes, and of course, are still
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to be discovered in their Report; but this was a transient gloom; from the moment that the present complete intelligence and intimacy was established between the right honourable President and the ministers, a new light seemed to flash at once on the whole Board of Council; the happiest means were instantly pursued to effect the concealment of Ministerial error; the most decisive mode of examining witnesses was systematically observed—not only the most apt and artful questions were propounded, but with equal skill the most fortunate answers were generally provided—all however was carried on with much plausibility and stateliness of deportment.—“ It was an open Court—“ It was accessible to witnesses of all descriptions, “ and accordingly (as was repeatedly asserted), “ Gentlemen attended them of their own accord, “ and voluntarily offered their impartial testimony, “ on the various articles of their respective manufactures.”—But how has this description been verified?—We have it in proof, that every individual witness, who attended that Board, was expressly sent for—and that questions were put of an abstract nature, and on premises unexplained. We have found too that the answers so obtained were reserved, to be brought in contradiction to opinions, which, when the premises were fully examined, and the consequences weighed, it was obvious could not fail to be stated in testimony at the Bar of the House of Commons. The right honourable Gentleman, who is at the head of this Board (Mr. Jenkinson) has thought proper however to inform us, that the Manufacturers were voluntary attendants on the Committee—But to this more than one Gentleman of eminence and respect has directly answered, that in truth the witnesses were expressly sent for; Mr. Rose of the Treasury having repeatedly

edly entreated them to attend the Committee—

“ *Ay*, says the right honourable Gentleman, *but we have nothing to do with Mr. Rose, nor with the Treasury*—We did not send for you.”

It is said in praise of simplicity of action,

“ That the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth.” Perhaps this may be the case here; but which, Sir, is the *right hand* and which the *left*, of the present Administration, it is not so easy to ascertain. Certainly the Chancellor of the Exchequer has till of late been fond of disclaiming all connection with certain obnoxious characters; He has generally, in high tone and pompous parade, disavowed and reprobated all intimacy, all friendship, all connection, with the right honourable Gentleman who has long been suspected of promoting an undue influence in the Government of this country. But all this was the language of a period when the momentary popularity which the Minister had obtained had placed him above the degradation of so obnoxious a connexion—When the conduct of the popular branch of the Constitution was bestowed upon the present Minister, under the description and character of a popular statesman, it would indeed have been madness in the extreme to have held any other language of one whose habits, whose principles, whose avowed prejudices marked him out as utterly disqualified for a situation, which even in common prudence, ought never to be subject to the direct controul, or to the disguised influence of Prerogative. When the scene however began to change, when the Irish Resolutions excited alarm, and the minds of men were irritated at so lavish a surrender of every thing that was dear—when the right honourable Gentleman began to feel himself weak and insecure—his language was less inflated—his
proud

proud rejection of obnoxious characters was heard no more.

“ Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,

“ Projicit *Ampullas et sesquipedalia Verba.*

“ Misery makes us acquainted with strange companions.”—For my own part, Sir, though I have always considered the right honourable Gentleman alluded to, as an objectionable character for mixing in the conduct of the British Government, yet I must do him the justice to say, that in this singular instance his cautious temper, his patient laborious habits have undoubtedly been well employed in correcting the strange incoherent levities of the original propositions. And therefore it would be wholly unfair to withhold the merit of some of the alterations of this day from the instruction and advice so generously administered by the right honourable Gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) in the hour of danger and necessity.

But to return to the Committee of Privy Council; I cannot suppress my indignation at the petty, miserable plan which I am sorry to find they have pursued; of first entrapping witnesses by inducing them to give hasty answer, to questions unexplained—and afterwards in endeavouring to detect contradictions in their evidence, when they came, at the distance of six weeks, to speak at the bar of this Committee. Upon such conduct, very ill becoming in a Board of Privy Council, I cannot but observe, that undoubtedly it would have been far more graceful for the right honourable Gentleman to have lent his utmost aid to the manufacturers of this country, when they were forced to the bar of this Committee in support of their dearest privileges—surely upon such an occasion he ought himself to have manfully declared, “ I rejoice to see you
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“ here—eager as I am for the discovery of truth,
 “ I am happy that you are come to explain all
 “ those points in which you have either been
 “ mistated or misapprehended, by the Committee
 “ of Council—You have now an opportunity to
 “ correct those errors—Improve it with all the
 “ sincerity and the zeal that are the best charac-
 “ teristics of Englishmen.” Such ought to have
 been his language, for surely it is by no means
 discreditable for a man of the strictest honour to
 explain his opinions, when more mature reflection
 and greater light on the subject have convinced
 him that he was wrong. And yet in pursuing a
 line of conduct diametrically opposite to that which
 I have described; in adopting the poor and misera-
 ble expedient which the Minister preferred to the
 plain feeling of justice and honour, I pledge my-
 self to prove, that, with all their sinister industry
 to confuse and to prevent, they have completely
 and utterly failed; for not a single instance have
 they been able to offer of glaring and material
 contradiction upon any one of the numerous wit-
 nesses who have been the constant objects of their
 illiberal attacks.

I have said, Sir, that so far as I have been able
 to comprehend the alterations by hearing them
 once read over, I am ready to acknowledge they
 are now infinitely more palatable than at first—
 but I desire it may be understood, that I still insist
 they are by no means what they ought to be—
 much of my objection remains, and I have no
 doubt, but that when Gentlemen come to discuss
 the amended Resolutions, they will yet exhibit
 weighty arguments against their acceptance as the
 basis of the future intercourse between the two
 countries.

The right honourable Gentleman has now removed the objection which originally existed against the first Resolutions; namely, that we thereby sacrificed the Monopoly of the Asiatic trade.—How the right honourable Gentleman could originally overlook that most important concern, unless he meant to abolish the monopoly, is a point for which I am utterly at a loss to account—Surely, the peculiar services which the Company have rendered to his Administration, might well have claimed a more serious attention to their particular interests, than the right honourable Gentleman seems to have paid them at the present important crisis: but roused to the performance of his duty by the zeal of Gentlemen on this side of the House, he has at length indeed made some provision for the security of the East-India trade—Certainly I do not grudge to the people of Ireland the benefits which he has allotted to them in this branch of commerce—It is by no means improper that they should have a share of the out-fit of the East-India ships, as they consent to a part of the return—Excluded from the commerce of Asia, it seems but barely equitable to permit them to supply some proportion of the export trade. On the contrary, if at any time, either the necessities or the mere will of the East India Company should resort to Ireland for such supplies, in preference to the established trade with their own native dealers, I am sure there is no Englishman of sense or spirit who would debar Ireland from every fair participation of those benefits which may be safely and justly divided.

The right honourable Gentleman has made use of the most *unfortunate* argument that I ever heard delivered by the most *unfortunate* speaker in this or in any assembly. He says, that giving

to Ireland the English market for the issue of Colonial produce, though it will not enable the Irish to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, will yet be of great avail to them, for they will thereby be more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. This he explains by saying, that having the issue of the English market to depend upon in the last resort, they will have a greater spur to adventure—they will import more of the produce of the Colonies—and trusting to the power which they will now have of coming in the end to England with their commodities, they will strive to increase their foreign trade, and necessarily make their country a sort of commercial depot.—If this argument is true of the colonial produce—it is equally true of their own manufactures.—If the new advantage of having the English market as an issue is to enable them to push their foreign trade to a considerable increase in the colonial produce, then with precisely the same ground may we contend that having the issue of the English market they will be able to advance their foreign trade for their manufactures. Here then is an end to all the *invektive* which was thrown on the manufacturers for having asserted that those Resolutions would affect the manufactures of Great Britain in the foreign market.—They were told with petulance, that they did not understand the matter; and that if there was any danger of meeting a powerful competitor in the Irish manufacturers at the foreign market, that that danger existed before—that the foreign market had always been open to the Irish manufacturer.—True—and of this they were not ignorant.—But Ireland had not till now the sure issue of the English market as a collateral security for enterprize, and as a spur to speculation. I thank the right ho-

nourable Gentleman for this argument, but I must apprise him that it refers more to manufactures than to colonial produce. Does he not know, that in colonial produce the home market is every thing, and the foreign market nothing. In manufactures it is the contrary, or nearly so. There was good ground therefore for the manufacturers to state, that they should now find a dangerous competitor in Ireland at the foreign market.—

Now, Sir, with respect to the *Navigation Act*, upon which I have said so much in the course of this discussion, do we not now find that all my apprehensions were well founded? The right honourable Gentleman has at length *acknowledged* that the *Navigation Act* was in *danger*, notwithstanding his repeated declarations to the contrary.—This conviction of the danger may be collected from the nature of the remedy he has thought it expedient to adopt.—Strong must have been the apprehensions which suggested such a relief. It is a *relief*, which in the peculiar circumstances of the two kingdoms, will require very particular consideration indeed, as its tendency is no less than this, that notwithstanding the *Independance of Ireland*, she must still in *commercial laws* and *external legislation* be *governed by Britain*. That she shall agree to follow whatever regulations we may think it right to pursue from time to time for securing privileges to our shipping, or for restraining the trade with our colonies, and that such laws shall be in full force in Ireland, is a remedy certainly of a very hazardous kind, but, Sir, though it goes so far, it does not satisfy me,—it is dangerous indeed, but not efficacious, nor do I think that, strong and bitter as it is, it will be attended with the effects of preventing the various and radical evils which are attached to this pernicious system. I

am of opinion, that even if Ireland should agree to this provision, we shall *deliver up* into the *custody* of another, and that an independent nation, all our *fundamental laws* for the regulation of our trade, and we must depend totally on *her bounty* and *liberal spirit* for the guardianship and protection of our dearest interests.—Now, Sir, although I feel as strong a disposition of partiality and favour towards the Irish nation as any man in this house.—Although I believe them to be a people as distinguished by liberality as any people upon earth, yet this is not of all others, the particular point in which I would chuse to trust to their liberality. I think the guardianship of the laws which I have mentioned, can be deposited in no hands so properly as in our own. It would be the interest of Ireland to evade these laws,—and I ask you what security there is for the due performance of a commercial contract, when it is the interest of a nation to evade it. He who trusts to the vague and rash notions of abstract right in preference to the constant and uniform testimony of experience, will find himself miserably deceived in his calculations on all subjects of commercial or political discussion. When it is the interest of a nation to evade a law—that law will be evaded. It always was so,—and it always will be so. Perhaps there is no instance of a country more tenacious of engagements than our own; but, do we not all know, that finding the illicit trade which was some time ago carried on to the Spanish Main highly beneficial to the country, that that trade was connived at, though in the very teeth of our national engagements. Now, Sir, when it shall be felt that Ireland will be materially benefited by evading our laws, and that the introduction of foreign sugars will be so much more valuable to them than
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the legal importation of our colonial produce, is it to be imagined that the people of Ireland will, out of mere love and liberality, shut their eyes against their own immediate interest, or that the laws which may be made in conformity with this new system, will be enforced with vigour and with efficacy. Interest is the leading impulse with nations, and it supposes nothing unfavourable to the Irish, to suppose that the common feelings which actuate all mankind in their public character as states, may prevail also with them, when it shall be found that foreign sugars may be introduced 15 or 20 per cent. cheaper than our own, and when it shall be found that they can be introduced in American bottoms cheaper than in shipping navigated according to the law of Great Britain, it is idle to suppose that they will not be so introduced, that this sinister advantage will not be so obtained, that is in other words, that the commerce of England will not be so affected and diminished. Mr. Orde on opening his system to the Irish Parliament, if we may trust to the report of the newspapers, (and that we may do so, is evident from this circumstance, that though Mr. Orde was in London several days, he never came down to the House to contradict the reports, though argument was daily founded upon them) stated that Cork would become the *emporium* of the Empire—This expression to be sure, he afterwards changed to a term more *prosaic* and modest, affirming that his original phrase had been, that Cork would become the *medium* of trade to the Empire. The difference is immaterial, except in the sound of the word, for by *medium* I can understand nothing else, than that the produce of the Western World will in the first instance be imported into Ireland, be

be deposited there as the magazine of the Empire, and be subsequently dealt out to Britain as her wants may make such application necessary—We have a less sounding and less intelligible phrase, but the real meaning remains still the same, and the measure of oppression and injury unchanged or abated—That Ireland will be this medium, I have no doubt, and its being so, will produce an evil beyond the mere loss of the direct trade to our colonies, for there is every reason to believe, that by this means the produce of the French and other foreign colonies will find their way into the country, to the ruin of our West India planters and merchants. But, says the right honourable Gentleman, it is not to be believed, that a circuitous voyage as this will be, can be preferred to a communication with our colonies; and in a whisper he says across the house, that Britain even now supplies the Irish market with colonial produce.—This, Sir, in my opinion strengthens my argument. Such is the decided benefit resulting from having two markets instead of one, that now we are able with all the disadvantage of the circuitous voyage, to supply Ireland. What then must be the consequence to Ireland when she shall enjoy the double market, added to all the advantages arising from harbours so admirably accommodated by the hand of Nature for the intercourse in question, from cheap labour and from an almost total exemption from national burthens.—She will indeed become the *Emporium*, or if the right honourable Gentleman, out of compliment to his friends in England, likes it better, the *Medium* of trade to the general Empire, and indeed almost exclusively so with respect to the produce of our colonies.

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The right honourable Gentleman has been anxious to set up an argument in favour of this country, that *great capital* would in all cases overbalance *cheapness of labour*. I know this to be the fashionable position of the present times and of the present Government. But general positions of all kinds ought to be very cautiously admitted indeed on subjects so infinitely complex and mutable as politics or commerce—A wise man hesitates at giving too implicit a credit to any general maxim of any denomination, and with this conviction in my mind I am prepared to contravert the position of the right honourable Gentleman, at the same time that I do not desire to be understood or wishing to establish it contrary—I do not think that *Great Capital* will *always* overbalance *cheapness of labour*—nor that cheap labour will always overbalance great capital—As general theorems I dispute both, at the same time that I am clearly of opinion, that under certain circumstances both may be true—We have known several instances in which cheapness of labour has triumphed over greatness of capital. In the rapid transitions of fortune in this country, do we not daily perceive the triumphs of industry over wealth; have we not abundant precedents to shew that our manufactures have changed their positions in this country merely on account of the cheapness of labour and provision? Have they not within these thirty years travelled into Scotland, and is it not likely that for precisely the same reason, together with other incitements, they will migrate to Ireland. But, says the right honourable Gentleman, the difference is not so great as is imagined in the price of labour. It is only *rude* labour which is cheap in Ireland—and the finer parts of work are much dearer there

there than in England. In Proof of this assertion he brings Captain Brook to the Bar of the House of Commons, a Gentleman who has established a very considerable manufactory of Cottons in Ireland. Whether it is perfectly proper to bring Gentlemen from Ireland to give evidence before the House of Commons, on a subject that is to benefit Ireland and not England, I will not take up much time to enquire. The Irish are beyond all question much interested in the conclusion of this bargain, and exclusively so as to hopes of benefit; their evidence therefore as parties influenced and prejudiced, may perhaps be deemed improper when brought forward to support the system; and to persuade this House.—I know it may be said, that Messrs. Richardson, Walker, Peele, and others, who have given evidence on the other side are also interested in the termination of this compact—I admit the fact—but on which side does their interest lie?—and to which ought we in this House to incline?—They are interested for England, of which we are the delegated guardians—Mr. Brook is interested for Ireland, who is on the other side negotiating for herself. Taking it therefore in that point of view, I cannot hesitate a moment on the path which it becomes me as a British Member of Parliament to pursue in the credit which I am to bestow on the evidence adduced. But in this point of the cheapness of *rude* labour, hear what the intelligent Mr. Peele says.—“ The *finer* parts of “ work cannot be carried on without the *ruder*. “ It is on the rude work that the hand is qualified “ in its Art—and every man who is employed in “ the finer branch was first employed in the coarser.” The cheapness of rude labour is therefore an advantage which in manufactures of the finest kind must be highly favourable; but in these

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which are in their quality coarse, must give to the Country a decisive superiority. In one instance this has been proved. A manufacturer of Norwich gives it in evidence that he can buy in Norwich, Irish worsted yarn cheaper than he can buy English—although it is subject to five or six duties before it reaches him—and subject also to the expence of the voyage and of the carriage, as well as of the internal duties in Ireland; so that upon a fair and just calculation it is demonstrable, that they can manufacture worsted yarn in Ireland 45 or 50 *per cent.* cheaper than in England—But say the witnesses from Ireland, it is by no means likely that Ireland will ever establish a cotton manufactory to rival that of Manchester. It would not be her interest to do so, and there are many stubborn inconveniencies which she has to surmount. I will admit the supposition for the sake of argument, though I by no means think it founded in probability. But admitting even that she shall not think of establishing a cotton manufactory, she may still by these new Resolutions effectually cut off the Irish market from ours; for having a manufacture of her own to substitute in the room of this, she may lay a duty on cottons, which by the principle of countervailing duties might amount to a prohibition of ours, and by a side-blow therefore annihilate the Manchester manufacture in the Irish market at once.

And this leads me to an Argument which has been much insisted on in favour of these Resolutions—That by the means of the new system, the right honourable Gentleman would have the merit of putting an end to all idea of *protecting duties*. On what rational ground does he claim to himself this merit? By the power which is thus left to each country, to lay internal duties on such manufactures

tures as they may covet to crush for the sake of advancing a substitute, he gives rise to a *countervailing duty* that will act as a complete though indirect *prohibition*; and that this is in favour of Ireland and inimical to England, is evident from this circumstance, that by the fatal ninth Resolution we have forever given up the only remaining hold which could have operated as a protection against so obvious and alarming an inconvenience. Protecting duties, however threatened, would never have been imposed under the old intercourse; for the good sense of Ireland would not have suffered the danger of retaliation on their staple commodity—That danger they will now no longer be exposed to. But, says the right honourable Gentleman, we shall by this means bind the two nations together in indissoluble bands;—That between nation and nation, the intercourse should be regulated by principles of equality and justice—and that this ought to be more particularly studied between nations that are sisters as it were, and are so connected in Interest and in blood as Great Britain and Ireland.—To such Principles as these, if acted upon with wisdom or the chance of mutual harmony, far would it be from me, to object—My objection is—that the Intercourse is *not* to be regulated by principles of equality and justice. Let us suppose fair and equal admission of manufactures into each country free of all duties—Which of the kingdoms would shudder most at such a freedom? The Irish undoubtedly—We are to give them an intercourse infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely, and in doing this, we have given to Ireland the power of offending us without reserving the means even of retaliation, much less of prevention.

By the seventh Resolution, we bind ourselves in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland. This is a measure which may be found highly prejudicial to our manufactures.—In the course of this session, we have passed an Act to prevent the export of rabbit skins, for the benefit of our hat manufactory. May not other occasions arise, in which it would highly affect us to suffer raw materials to go out of our hands into those of foreign states, under the name of Ireland; for such is the danger that I apprehend. A cargo of raw materials may be entered at our custom house for Ireland; but what security shall we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their stay in the country if they reach it? Never let us be so weak as to trust to generosity, when interest is at stake.

The ninth Resolution, Sir, is that which I reprobate the most, and in that no alteration is made. By that Resolution we for ever surrender the only power which we had of enforcing the due performance of all the parts of the bargain, obligatory on Ireland. By giving up all legislative controul over the admission of her staple into Britain, we for ever throw ourselves on the mercy of Ireland, and have no means of protecting ourselves against her future caprices. It is by such means that the right honourable Gentleman hopes to produce a lasting amity between the two kingdoms; He provides ill for peace, who deprives himself of the weapons of war. True policy suggests, that with a disposition to be amicable ourselves, we should be prepared against the effects of a contrary disposition in others.

In regard to the compensation, I hardly know in what view of it to express my particular reprobation.—The exaction of a permanent provision
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from Ireland, is what I consider as a measure, pregnant with the most alarming consequences to the liberties and to the constitution of both countries. As an Irishman, I would never consent to grant it; and as an Englishman, I cannot accept it.—What Ireland cannot concede with safety, England cannot receive with grace. It has always been the leading and characteristic privilege of our legislature, and when I speak of ours in this instance, I may include the legislature of Ireland also—to limit all grants of supplies to the period of *one* year. Thus the supplies for the army are voted annually—for the navy annually, &c.—for the ordnance annually, and so also in every description of public expenditure, that may any way tend to produce an undue controul over the subject—To make them perpetual, even though the application of them is to be left to the disposal of Parliament, is a measure to which I cannot give my consent.—It establishes a precedent for diminishing the sole security, which the domestic branch of the constitution possesses against the encroachments of the executive.—Annual supplies are the vital source of the influence and authority which the representative body have, and ought to have in the respective legislature of the two countries, and I can accede to no regulation that has the operation of impairing so invaluable a privilege in the smallest degree.—I object to this compensation on another account; and that is, that I do not think it worth our acceptance: for even if the surplus of the hereditary revenue should amount to a sum, which might be valuable when applied to the maintenance of our navy, what security have we that the Irish nation may not withdraw the sum which they now appropriate to the army? They now maintain a very considerable part of our army—I wish to know if
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it will not be in their power to withhold that sum whenever they shall deem it expedient, after the establishment of this new system. Therefore, what we gain in the one way, we may lose in the other.—We may lose from our army what we are to gain in our navy, with this material difference still existing between the two cases, that the supply which is now granted on the part of Ireland, for the support of our army, is granted in a manner truly and perfectly congenial with the practice and spirit of our own constitution, whereas, the proposed expedient of the service of our navy, originates in a violation of both, and cannot operate but to the obvious disadvantage of the popular department of the Irish Government. The right honourable Gentleman, says, the surplus of the hereditary Revenue, would be appropriated to the purchase of provisions for the navy, and that thus it would be beneficial to Ireland—To this I have no objection; I think it would be reasonable and advantageous.—But to the *permanency* of the grant, I must enter my most cordial and determined protest—The right honourable Gentleman, says, that here he would not trust to the generosity of Ireland for a compensation, which he considers as founded in justice. He will implicitly trust to her generosity and kindness, for the due and vigorous execution of the trade laws, but he will not trust to her generosity for the return which she shall make, for his present benevolence towards her.—In this I completely differ with the right honourable Gentleman—I would trust to Ireland in the case where he would not, and I would not where he would.—If there is any nation upon earth, in whom on a point of honourable compensation—I would have implicit confidence—it is Ireland. But in the due performance of commercial regulations, where the laws

laws stand for ever in the way of interest and adventure—I would not trust to any people existing. In the case of the compensation, the voice of all Ireland would be heard in her Parliament—In the instance of sinister trade, it would be confined to the intrigues between smugglers and custom-house officers—and neither the generosity nor the maunliness of the more enlightened and polished part of the nation at all would be concerned in the discussion.

The right honourable Gentleman has insinuated, that there is an immediate necessity for adopting the system which he has proposed—That is as much as to say in plain English—he has held out the Resolutions to Ireland, and the *necessity* for adopting them has arisen from his having done so. This is a mode of argument which merits a great share of countenance, whatever truth there may be in the fact. Ireland is not however, I trust so irrational, as to insist upon the rash and intemperate transfer of privileges, demonstrably ruinous to England. “But,” says the right honourable Gentleman, “this system will finally determine every question between the two nations—and nothing can arise in future to make a contest between them.”—I call upon the right honourable Gentleman to say, what security he can give us, for the certain accomplishment of his pretage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not—Experience of the first, which I conceive to be the last criterion, by which to determine the probability of the future, is against him. When the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribband, in the year 1780, opened to the Irish the trade of our Colonies, the Parliament of that country declared themselves fully gratified, and thanked his Majesty in terms of the utmost gratitude, and apparent satisfaction.

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In a few months however their voice was heard again. In the Administration of which I made a part, their legislature was declared to be independent, and in Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, they professed themselves so entirely content, as not to consider it possible that any subsequent question of political division could arise between the two kingdoms. Yet in the very next session they gave indications of new dissatisfaction, and further concessions were made. How are men to argue from these facts? One would imagine, that the most effectual and satisfactory method of quieting the apprehensions, or relieving the exigencies of a distressed country, would be that of appealing to their own testimony, for a knowledge of their circumstances—to collect information from themselves—to desire them to state, in their own persons, the measure of their calamities, and the best expedients for the relief of them. This was precisely the way pursued heretofore. The concessions were granted on the declarations of the best informed men in the land—men the best qualified to know the state, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom. Mr. Hussey Burgh, and Mr. Grattan, names, which no man could mention, but with the sincerest and most cordial respect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which she relied. But this it seems, however specious and natural, was not the proper method of ascertaining the wants or wishes of another kingdom.—The true and only means of finally concluding all disputes with Ireland, is to send a *stranger* there—and order him to address himself to their Senate—in such language as this—“Hear me, ye men of Ignorance and Credulity!—You know nothing of what you want, what you wish, or what would be good for you—

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trust yourselves to me—I am perfect master of all your infirmities—Here is the specific that will cure you, the infallible nostrum for all ailments” —It seems that this is the only conciliatory expedient, for administering to the relief of a disordered state—Not to suffer the inhabitants to speak, but to send a man amongst them ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propose wild schemes of extravagant speculation, and prescribe for the disorder, without the painful tediousness of trying to understand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr. Orde, an English Gentleman, the Secretary to an English Nobleman, the Lord Lieutenant for the time, rises up and proposes a set of Resolutions which he pledges himself to carry into complete execution. These Resolutions are brought to England, and after two months discussion are *completely and fundamentally altered*. —Upon these Resolutions the right honourable gentleman thinks himself warranted to say that the system will be *final*. The right honourable gentleman said, he must have a *fund of credulity* who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner I say, that he must have a *fund of credulity* indeed, who can believe on such premises that the Irish will be content with this system, or that the general interests of both countries can be promoted by its establishment.

It is possible, says the right honourable Gentleman, “ That one country may not lose what another may gain.” I am very ready to agree with the right honourable Gentleman, that in similar manufactures, or even in the same manufacture, one country might open channels of commerce unknown to another, the one acquire riches without

the other suffering diminution. But it so happens, that between England and Ireland, under these resolutions this cannot be the case. Their channels of consumption are precisely the same, and a mutual participation in all markets is the leading principle of the agreement. Ireland therefore cannot make a single acquisition but to the proportionate loss of England. I defy the right honourable Gentleman to mention any one article, and he has not mentioned one, in which Ireland may gain without England suffering a loss. This, Sir, constitutes the distinct and prominent evidence of the impolicy of the system. It is this which will stir up jealousy between the two countries, and make Englishmen and Irishmen look at one another with cold hearts and suspicious eyes. If any one thing demands more than another the cautious deliberation of the committee, it is that of guarding against insidious competition,—to take care that the new system shall not make the countries rivals instead of friends.

Another objection requires a more satisfactory answer than it has yet obtained. We have gone great lengths for the suppression of smuggling, and have loaded our constituents with a Commutation Tax of a most heavy and unequal kind, merely to crush the contraband trade on our coasts. Upon the very heel of a most oppressive and unequitable expedient, for the prevention of smuggling, we are preparing to adopt a new system, that will give to every species of this indirect and contraband commerce ten times the vigour and the generality that it ever possessed in the country.—This is the right honourable Gentleman's consistency.—In one year he loads the subject with the most intolerable imposition to which they ever were exposed, and the

the single motive, as well as the only possible excuse for it is this—the prevention of smuggling.—The next—He introduces a new measure, the obvious and undeniable tendency of which is, to encourage all illicit trade, to an extent hitherto unknown in any period of our history—for by means of this new intercourse—no laws—no watchfulness—no penalties will have power enough to prevent the revival of every sort of contraband trade. I shall mention only a single article or two, to shew you the facility which these new resolutions will give to the exercise of smuggling. At present, so anxious are we to guard against the illicit importation of French gloves, that we have had recourse to a prevention of unexampled rigour and severity. Besides the penalty which is uncommonly high, the person in whose custody suspected gloves are found, is obliged to prove that they were made in this country. The *onus probandi* lies upon the person *accused*, an instance of severity unknown to the general penal provisions of our statutes. When this communication with Ireland is opened, what will be the consequence. The person has only to say that they are Irish.—It will be in vain that you call upon him to prove that they are manufactured there,—and thus you will have articles of every kind poured in upon you.—Silk stockings is another article of the same kind. Distinctions will be impracticable, and every species of light goods of small package and easy transfer, will flow in upon us, to the ruin of our manufactures.

I shall conclude, Sir, with supplicating the Committee to take time to deliberate and to enquire fully before they decide in this system which must make an entire revolution. In the whole system of British Commerce we have seen the benefits of delay.

Let us be wise from experience. It is impossible that Ireland can object to our desiring a sober deliberation on a subject so infinitely important. It is said that Ireland is out of temper—and that she has been irritated almost beyond her bearing. Ministers are answerable for this irritation, if such irritation exists. The violences which they have committed in Ireland deserve the most marked and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the press—their endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties to deliberate on the best peaceable means of amending their deficient representation.—Their proceeding against men by summary attachment—all were violences which perhaps may have inflamed Ireland, and now Ministers are desirous of avoiding the consequences of imprudent insult by imprudent concession—but let us be cautious how we assist them in a design which may eventually turn out as insidious to that country as it would be ruinous to this—a design which may perhaps involve in it another commutation, and that a more pernicious one, even that well known and universally execrated measure which now bears that name—a commutation of English Commerce for Irish slavery.

Let us remember, that all the manufacturing Communities of Britain, are avowedly against the system.—So general an union never took place as on this occasion—So large a number of petitions never were presented from the Manufacturers on any former occasion; and what is still more remarkable, there is but one solitary instance of any manufacturing body having expressed a syllable in its favour —The *voice of the whole country* is, therefore against the Resolutions. It is within the memory of all men, that sometime ago the right honourable

honourable Gentleman was an advocate for the *voice of the people*—"What" said he, when a number of petitions were presented against the India Bill, which I had the honour to move, "will you persist in this Bill against the *voice of the people*—will you not hearken to the Petitions upon your table?"—It was ever my opinion, Sir, that petitions should be heard, and most seriously attended to, but it was not my opinion—that they should always be implicitly complied with. A distinction should be made between petitions, as temporary circumstances, or the casualties under which they are presented, should suggest. And I should certainly be at all times more inclined to pay respect to them, when they applied to subjects, of which the petitioners could, from their habits or otherwise, be considered as competent judges—much more so beyond all question, than when they spoke merely from vague representations, and on topics with which they had no means of being at all conversant. The right honourable Gentleman is of a contrary opinion. It is only when they come *against the India Bill* that he thinks them worthy of notice. When hundreds of thousands come to our bar, deprecating the countenance of a system, which, from their own knowledge, they pronounce to be ruinous to the manufactures of England, he treats them with something that merits a severer term than *disdain*. Mr. Wedgewood, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Walker, and the other great manufacturers,—and who from opulence and every other consideration, are worthy to be ranked with the best men in this house, have received from the right honourable Gentleman every species of ill treatment and indignity that the lower or most degraded characters could receive, or the most contemptuous
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and violent could bestow. Their intelligence on their respective manufactures ought to give weight to their petitions as well as to their evidence, and to ensure them, not only a decent hearing, but a most attentive regard. The right honourable Gentleman however considers the *voice of the people*, only as *sacred* and *commanding*, where it is exerted against things upon which the petitioners are not competent to decide. For instance; if when these gentlemen (who I dare say, during the rage of opposition to the India Bill, also signed petitions against it) were at the bar, they had been asked if they objected to that Bill, and they had answered in the affirmative, would their testimony in the one case have been deserving of the same notice as on the interests of their particular manufacture?—Surely not—In the one case they spoke from what they heard, or from what they conjectured—in the other from what they knew.—Can the Committee think that they know more of the Manchester manufacture than Mr. Richardson and Mr. Walker?—of the iron manufacture than the gentlemen that we have heard this day?—and of every other manufacture than the persons who have spent their lives in the study, and embarked their fortunes in the progress?—If we do know better, let us in the name of heaven discharge our consciences and speak as we think, against those manufacturers,—but at any rate let us deliberate—let us take time to think before we act. Our decision will not be less efficacious for being the result of enquiry, nor is it possible that any evil can arise from a delay which affords some interval for decent discussion.

Before I sit down, Mr. Gilbert, it may not be amiss to suggest to gentlemen, that the present is a subject from which above all others, private partialities

lities or personal attachments ought to be totally excluded—This is not a question of personal struggle between man and man—a contest for power, nor the mere war of individual ambition.—It is a question of life and death for the country—not for the official existence of this or that Minister, but for the political existence of Great Britain itself.—In the consideration of such a question, therefore, let Gentlemen strip themselves at once of prejudices and predilections—let them guard their minds equally against an undue bias of every denomination, whether of political sympathy with the Minister, or of attachment to opposition—whether of individual respect for Gentlemen on that side of the House or on this, let them recollect that the Minister has by his conduct this day, shewn and demonstrated to the House, that implicit confidence in him is as dangerous as it is absurd—That infallibility is no more the prerogative of the right honourable Gentleman than of the rest of the world—He has introduced sixteen new Propositions, the general object of which is to correct and to qualify his original system, and the particular aim of some of which is to change the very essence or vital nature of his previous plan—Let us suppose then, that this principle of implicit confidence had prevailed in the minds of Gentlemen, when this system was originally proposed to the House—if they had acceded to the Propositions, in the shape and formation in which they were at first presented (and that it was for a long time the Minister's intention to obtrude them upon this House with all their original infirmities upon their head, is well known to us and to the world) what would have followed?—Why evidently this—That this confidence so reposed, would have led
Gentlemen

Gentlemen to do that, which in the opinion of the Minister himself would have been *wrong*—let this example therefore of the demonstrated and acknowledged peril which results from blind predilection and the total resignation of personal judgment, warn Gentlemen how they fall in the same error a second time.—The Minister himself tells them this day, that they would have been in the grossest and most pernicious error in which the Legislators of a great country were ever involved; if they had trusted entirely to him on a former occasion.—I will take upon *me* to tell them that their error will not be less gross nor less pernicious if they trust him too implicitly on this—I shall only add, Sir, that he who can understand so complicated and so extensive a subject upon so slight and transient a view of it, possesses an intellect not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly cannot be the general characteristic of this House.—For one, I can truly say, he must possess an understanding of infinitely more quickness and acumen than any to which I pretend—He that votes for the Propositions without understanding them, is guilty of such a desertion of his duty and his patriotism as no subsequent penitence can possibly atone for—He sacrifices the commerce of Great Britain at the shrine of private partiality, and sells his country for the whistling of a name. The Minister who exacts, and the Member who submits to so disgraceful an obedience, are equally criminal.—The man who, holding the first seat in his Majesty's Council, can stoop to so disgraceful and fallacious a canvas, *as to rest* his Ministerial existence on the decision of a great national question like this, must be wholly lost to all sense of dignity, of character

character, or manly patriotism—and he who acquiesces in it from any other inducement but that of cautious and sincere conviction, surrenders every claim to the rank and estimation of an honest and independent Member of Parliament, and sinks into the meanness and degradation of a mere ministerial instrument, unworthy the situation of a Senator, and disgraceful to the name of an Englishman.—

House of Commons.

RESOLVED, That it is highly important to the general interest of the British Empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

Resolved, That towards carrying into full effect to desirable a settlement, it is the end and purpose of all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each Kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulation, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, or manufacture; and that all duties on goods, or manufactures, imported into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

Resolved, That for the same purpose, it is the end and purpose of all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each Kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulation, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, or manufacture; and that all duties on goods, or manufactures, imported into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

Authentic

Authentic Copy of the
IRISH RESOLUTIONS,
 as originally laid on the Table of the
 House of Commons.

1st. **R**ESOLVED, That it is highly important to the general interest of the British Empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2^d. Resolved, That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper, that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulation, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

3^d. Resolved, That for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country,

country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty, in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

4th. Resolved, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other, and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

5th. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is also proper that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture, coming from the other

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kingdom,

kingdom, shall be subjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.

6th. Resolved, That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

7th. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is necessary farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms, in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.

8th. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no duty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British Plantations, or any manu-

manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of, or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

9th. Resolved, That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign States should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

10th. Resolved, That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt, and therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

11th. Resolved, That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks,) shall produce, over and above the sum of 656,000l. in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the Parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

Authentic

Authentic Copy of the

RESOLUTIONS,

as amended by the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Die Jovis 12 Maii, 1785.

1. **T**HAT it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure shall be made by the Parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace; of protecting the trade, and general interests of the empire.

3. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain

Britain or Ireland †, *except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan,* should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and that the same duties, (if subject to duties,) to which they *would be* liable when exported from the country or place, *from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be;* and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, “ except on arrack and foreign
“ brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong wa-
“ ters, not imported from the British Colonies in
“ the West Indies or America,” shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other; *but nevertheless the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded as at present, by withholding the drawback until a certificate from the proper Officers of the Revenues in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outward.*

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4. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British Colonies and Plantations, and for regulating and re-

† The words in Italics in the body and at the end of the third Resolution, were amendments adopted in the Committee on the motion of the right honourable Mr. Eden.

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 straining the trade of the British Colonies and Plantations, shall be in force in Ireland, in the same manner as in Great Britain; and that proper measures should from time to time be taken, for effectually carrying the same into execution.

5. That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign Colonies, in America or the West-Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the Coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be, subject to upon importation into Great Britain.

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 6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Irish linens into Great Britain.

7. That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce

or manufacture of the British West-India Islands, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the British sugar Colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate, shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to indentify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

8. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British Colonies in the West Indies or America, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions, than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is essential to the general commercial interest of the empire, that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country, or from any settlement in the East-Indies, belonging to any such foreign European country; and that so long as the Parliament of this kingdom shall think it adviseable that the

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commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods, of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

10. That it is necessary for the general benefit of the British Empire, that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other ("except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit,") and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary, in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article, of its own consumption.

11. That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

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12. That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture; except in the case of beer imported into Ireland; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed, and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture, in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of such duty on the raw material is drawn back, or compensated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, such manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same so imported, to the same burdens, as the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufactures so imported, shall be intitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture.

13. That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new, or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to

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balance duties on internal consumption; pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

14. That for the same purpose it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new, or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other; except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

15. That for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever shall be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits, beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid, over and above any paid thereon in Britain.

16. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states, should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

17. That

17. That it is expedient, that the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just, that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

18. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

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The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 17th, Resolutions are NEW.

The 12th and 18th Resolutions, are ALTERED.

The words marked with inverted commas in the 3d and 10th Resolutions, are NEW.

F I N I S.

17. That it is expedient, that the copy rights of the authors and bookellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is not expedient, that the same should be taken by the payment of a fee, for giving the like protection to the copy rights of the authors and bookellers of that kingdom.

18. That the appropriation of whatever sum the Crown heretofore received of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing plenty of that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace, the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Resolutions are new.

The 11th and 12th Resolutions are altered.

The words marked with inverted commas in the 3d and 10th Resolutions are new.